

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

*Documents of Meetings of Representatives
of the Communist and Workers' Parties,
Held in Moscow
in November 1957,
in Bucharest in June 1960,
and in Moscow in November 1960*

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COMMUNIQUÉ
ON THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES
OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Held in Moscow, November 1957

A meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries was held in Moscow over November 14-16, 1957.

The Meeting was attended by delegations of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Working People's Party of Viet-Nam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labour, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Meeting unanimously adopted a Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties, the text of which follows.

**DECLARATION
OF THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES
OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES**

Held in Moscow, November 14-16, 1957

Representatives of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Working People's Party of Viet-Nam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labour, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed their relations, current problems of the international situation and the struggle for peace and socialism.

The exchange of opinions revealed identity of views of the parties on all the questions examined at the Meeting and unanimity in their assessment of the international situation. In the course of discussion the Meeting also touched upon general problems of the international communist movement. In drafting the Declaration the participants in the Meeting consulted with representatives of the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries. The fraternal parties not present at this Meeting will assess and themselves decide what action they should take on the considerations expressed in the Declaration.

I

The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October

Socialist Revolution in Russia. Today more than a third of the population of the world—over 950 million people—have taken the road of socialism and are building a new life. The tremendous growth of the forces of socialism has stimulated the rapid extension of the anti-imperialist national movement in the post-war period. During the last 12 years, besides the Chinese People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, over 700 million people have shaken off the colonial yoke and established national sovereign states. The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, still languishing in slavery, are intensifying the struggle for national liberation. The progress of socialism and of the national-liberation movement has greatly accelerated the disintegration of imperialism. With regard to the greater part of mankind imperialism has lost its one-time domination. In the imperialist countries society is rent by deep-going class contradictions and by antagonisms between those countries, while the working class is putting up increasing resistance to the policy of imperialism and the monopolies, fighting for better conditions, democratic rights, for peace and socialism.

In our epoch world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems. In the past forty years socialism has demonstrated that it is a much higher social system than capitalism. It has ensured development of the productive forces at a rate unprecedented and impossible for capitalism, and a steady rise in the material and cultural levels of the working people. The Soviet Union's strides in economy, science and technology and the results achieved by the other socialist countries in socialist construction are conclusive evidence of the great vitality of socialism. In the socialist states the working people enjoy genuine freedom and democratic rights, people's power ensures political unity of the masses, equality and friendship among the nations and a foreign policy aimed at preserving universal peace and rendering assistance to the oppressed nations in their emancipation struggle. The world socialist system, which is growing and becoming stronger, is exerting ever greater influence upon the inter-

national situation in the interests of peace and progress and the freedom of the peoples.

While socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline. The positions of imperialism have been greatly weakened as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system. The countries that have shaken off the yoke of colonialism are defending their sovereignty and fighting for economic independence, for international peace. The existence of the socialist system, the aid rendered by the socialist nations to these countries on principles of equality and co-operation between them and the socialist nations in the struggle for peace and against aggression, help them to uphold their national freedom and facilitate their social progress.

In the imperialist countries the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations have become more acute. In many respects modern science and engineering are not being used in the interests of social progress, in the interests of all mankind, because capitalism fetters and deforms the development of the productive forces of society. The world capitalist economy remains shaky and unstable. The relatively good economic activity still observed in a number of capitalist countries is due in large measure to the insecure basis provided by the arms drive and other transient factors. However, the capitalist economy is bound to encounter new deep slumps and crises. The temporary high business activity helps to keep up the reformist illusions among part of the workers in the capitalist countries. In the post-war period some sections of the working class in the more advanced capitalist countries, fighting against increased exploitation and for a higher standard of living, have been able to win certain wage increases, though in a number of these countries real wages are below the pre-war level. However, in the greater part of the capitalist world, particularly in the colonial and dependent countries, millions of working people still live in poverty. The broad invasion of agriculture by the monopolies, the price policy and the system of bank credits and loans dictated by them, and the increased taxation caused by the arms drive, have resulted in the steady ruin and impoverishment of the main mass of the peasantry.

There is a sharpening of contradictions not only between the bourgeoisie and the working class but also between the monopoly bourgeoisie and all sections of the people, between the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the peoples, and even the bourgeoisie, of the other capitalist countries, on the other. The working people of the capitalist countries live in such conditions as convince them more and more that the only way out of their grave situation is to socialism. Thus, increasingly favourable conditions are being created for bringing them into active struggle for socialism.

The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, by pursuing the so-called "positions of strength" policy, seek to bring most countries of the world under their sway and to hamper the onward march of mankind in accordance with the laws of social development. On the pretext of "combating communism" they are angling to bring more and more countries under their dominion, instigating destruction of democratic freedoms, threatening the national independence of the developed capitalist countries, trying to enmesh the liberated peoples in new forms of colonialism and systematically conducting subversive activities against the socialist countries. The policy of certain aggressive groups in the United States is aimed at rallying around them all the reactionary forces of the capitalist world. Acting in this way they are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people. By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are court-ing their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers.

So long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars. Throughout the post-war years the American, British, French and other imperialists and their stooges have conducted, or are conducting, wars in Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea, Malaya, Kenya, Guatemala, Egypt, Algeria, Oman and Yemen. At the same time the aggressive imperialist forces flatly refuse to cut armaments, to prohibit the use and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to agree on immediate discontinuation of the tests of these weapons; they are continuing the "cold war" and arms drive, building more military bases and conduct-ing the aggressive policy of undermining peace and creating

the danger of a new war. Were a world war to break out before agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons is reached, it would inevitably become a nuclear war unprecedented in destructive force.

In West Germany militarism is being revived with U.S. help, thus creating a hotbed of war in the heart of Europe. Struggle against West German militarism and revanchism, which are threatening peace, is a vital task facing the peace-loving forces of the German people and all the nations of Europe. An especially big role in this struggle belongs to the German Democratic Republic—the first worker-peasant state in German history with which the participants in this Meeting express their solidarity and which they fully support.

Simultaneously, the imperialists are trying to impose on the freedom-loving peoples of the Middle East the notorious "Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine" thereby creating the danger of war in this area. They are plotting conspiracies and provocations against independent Syria. The provocations against Syria, Egypt and other Arab countries pursue the aim of dividing and isolating the Arab countries in order to abolish their freedom and independence.

The SEATO aggressive bloc is a source of war danger in South-East Asia.

The question of war or peaceful coexistence is now the crucial question of world policy. All the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism.

At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting war as was demonstrated by the collapse of the aggressive imperialist designs in Egypt. The imperialist plan to use the counter-revolutionary forces for the overthrow of the people's democratic system in Hungary has failed as well.

The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard—the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the

peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices.

The Communist and Workers' Parties taking part in the Meeting declare that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems, which has been developed further and brought up to date in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the dependable pillar of peace and friendship among the peoples. The idea of peaceful coexistence is in keeping with the five principles advanced jointly by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India and with the programme adopted by the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries. Peace and peaceful coexistence are now being demanded by the broad masses in all countries.

The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. Together with all the peace-loving forces, they will do their best to prevent war.

II

The Meeting considers that in the present situation the strengthening of the unity and fraternal co-operation of the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, and the solidarity of the international working-class, national-liberation and democratic movements, acquire special significance.

At bedrock of the relations between the countries of the world socialist system and all the Communist and Workers' Parties lie the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, which have been tested by

life. Today the vital interests of the working people of all countries call for their support of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries who, pursuing a policy of preserving peace throughout the world, are the mainstay of peace and social progress. The working class, the democratic forces and the working people everywhere are interested in tirelessly strengthening fraternal contacts for the sake of the common cause, in safeguarding from enemy encroachments the historic political and social gains effected in the Soviet Union—the first and mightiest socialist power—in the Chinese People's Republic and in all the socialist countries, in seeing these gains extended and consolidated.

The socialist countries base their relations on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in one another's affairs. These are vital principles. However, they do not exhaust the essence of relations between them. Fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations. This aid is a striking expression of socialist internationalism.

On a basis of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states have established between themselves extensive economic and cultural co-operation that plays an important part in promoting the economic and political independence of each socialist country and the socialist commonwealth as a whole. The socialist states will continue to extend and improve economic and cultural co-operation among themselves.

The socialist states also advocate all-round expansion of economic and cultural relations with all other countries, provided they desire it, on a basis of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The solidarity of the socialist countries is not directed against any other country. On the contrary, it serves the interests of all the peace-loving peoples, restrains the aggressive strivings of the bellicose imperialist circles and supports and encourages the growing forces of peace. The socialist countries are against the division of the world into military blocs. But in view of the situation that has arisen, with the Western Powers refusing to accept the proposals of the socialist countries for mutual abolition of military blocs, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, which is

of a defensive nature and serves the security of the peoples of Europe and peace throughout the world, must be preserved and strengthened.

The socialist countries are united in a single community by the fact that they are following a common socialist road, by the common class essence of the social and economic system and state authority, by the need for mutual aid and support, by common interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism, by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which is common to them all.

The solidarity and close unity of the socialist countries constitute a reliable guarantee of the national sovereignty and independence of each. Stronger fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries call for a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy on the part of the Communist and Workers' Parties, for educating all the working people in the spirit of combining internationalism with patriotism and for a determined effort to overcome the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. All issues pertaining to relations between the socialist countries can be fully settled through comradely discussion, with strict observance of the principles of socialist internationalism.

III

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and progress in socialist construction in the People's Democracies find deep sympathy among the working class and the working people of all countries. The ideas of socialism are winning additional millions of people. In these conditions the imperialist bourgeoisie attaches increasing importance to the ideological moulding of the masses; it misrepresents socialism and smears Marxism-Leninism, misleads and confuses the masses. Therefore, it is extremely important to intensify Marxist-Leninist education of the masses, combat bourgeois ideology, expose the lies and slanderous fabrications of imperialist propaganda against socialism and the communist movement and widely propagate in

simple and convincing fashion the ideas of socialism, peace and friendship among nations.

The Meeting confirmed the identity of views of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the cardinal problems of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has fully borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the processes of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are governed by a number of basic laws applicable in all countries embarking on a socialist course. These laws manifest themselves everywhere, alongside a great variety of historic national peculiarities and traditions which must by all means be taken into account.

These laws are: guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture; planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, at raising the standard of living of the working people; the carrying out of the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of a numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism; the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship among peoples; defence of the achievements of socialism against attacks by external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of the country concerned with the working class of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism.

Marxism-Leninism calls for a creative application of the general principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the concrete conditions of each country, and rejects mechanical imitation of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other

countries. Lenin repeatedly called attention to the necessity of correctly applying the basic principles of communism, in keeping with the specific features of the nation, of the national state concerned. Disregard of national peculiarities by the proletarian party inevitably leads to its divorce from reality, from the masses, and is bound to prejudice the cause of socialism, and, conversely, exaggeration of the role of these peculiarities, or departure, under the pretext of national peculiarities, from the universal Marxist-Leninist truth on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, is just as harmful to the socialist cause. The participants in the Meeting consider that both these tendencies should be combated simultaneously. The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries should firmly adhere to the principle of combining the above universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific practice of revolution and construction in their countries, creatively apply the general laws governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction in accordance with the concrete conditions of their countries, learn from each other and share experience. Creative application of the general laws of socialist construction, tried and tested by experience, and the variety of forms and methods of building socialism used in different countries, represent a collective contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism. This world outlook reflects the universal law of development of nature, society and human thinking. It is valid for the past, the present and the future. Dialectical materialism is countered by metaphysics and idealism. Should the Marxist political party in its examination of questions base itself not on dialectics and materialism, the result will be one-sidedness and subjectivism, stagnation of human thought, isolation from life and loss of ability to make the necessary analysis of things and phenomena, revisionist and dogmatist mistakes and mistakes in policy. Application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of the party functionaries and the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Of vital importance at the present stage is intensified struggle against opportunist trends in the working-class and communist movement. The Meeting underlines the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Revisionism and dogmatism in the working-class and communist movement are today, as they have been in the past, international phenomena. Dogmatism and sectarianism hinder the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in the changing conditions, replace study of the concrete situation with quotations and talmudism, and lead to the isolation of the party from the masses. A party that has withdrawn into the shell of sectarianism and that has lost contact with the masses cannot bring victory to the cause of the working class.

In condemning dogmatism, the Communist Parties believe that the main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, Right-wing opportunism, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralysing the revolutionary energy of the working class and demanding the preservation or restoration of capitalism. However, dogmatism and sectarianism can also be the main danger at different phases of development in one party or another. It is for each Communist Party to decide what danger threatens it more at a given time.

It should be pointed out that the gaining of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion. After it has gained power the working class is faced with the serious tasks of effecting the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and laying the economic and technical foundation of socialism. At the same time the overthrown bourgeoisie always endeavours to make a comeback; the influence exerted on society by the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and their intelligentsia, is still great. That is why a fairly long time is needed to resolve the issue of who will win—capitalism or socialism. The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source.

Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is "outmoded" and

alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society.

The experience of the international communist movement shows that resolute defence by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Marxist-Leninist unity of their ranks and the banning of factions and groups sapping that unity is a requisite for successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, for building socialism and communism.

IV

The Communist and Workers' Parties are faced with great historic tasks. The carrying out of these tasks necessitates closer unity not only of the Communist and Workers' Parties, but of the entire working class, necessitates cementing the alliance of the working class and peasantry, rallying the working people and progressive mankind, the freedom- and peace-loving forces of the world.

The defence of peace is the most important world-wide task of the day. The Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries stand for joint action on the broadest possible scale with all forces favouring peace and opposed to war. The participants in the Meeting declare that they support the efforts of all states, parties, organisations, movements and individuals who champion peace and oppose war, who want peaceful coexistence, collective security in Europe and Asia, reduction of armaments and prohibition of the use and tests of nuclear weapons.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are loyal defenders of the national and democratic interests of the peoples

of all countries. The working class and the peoples of many countries are still confronted with the historic tasks of struggle for national independence, against colonial aggression and feudal oppression. What is needed here is a united anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic forces. Numerous facts show that the greater and stronger the unity of the various patriotic and democratic forces, the greater the guarantee of victory in the common struggle.

At present the struggle of the working class and the masses of the people against the war danger and for their vital interests is spearheaded against the big monopoly groups of capital as those chiefly responsible for the arms race, as those who organise and inspire plans for a new world war and who are the bulwark of aggression and reaction. The interests and the policy of this handful of monopolies conflict increasingly with the interests not only of the working class but of the other sections of capitalist society: the peasants, intellectuals, petty and middle urban bourgeoisie. In those capitalist countries where the American monopolies are out to establish their hegemony and in the countries already suffering from the U.S. policy of economic and military expansion, the objective conditions are being created for uniting, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary parties, broad sections of the population to fight for peace, in defence of national independence and democratic freedoms, to raise the standard of living of the working people, to carry through radical land reforms and to overthrow the rule of the monopolies who betray the national interests.

The profound historic changes and the decisive switch in the balance of forces in the international sphere in favour of socialism, and the growth of the power of attraction exerted by socialist ideas among the working class, working peasantry and working intelligentsia create more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism.

The forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would

accord with the interests of the working class and the entire people, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class headed by its vanguard has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and decisively rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The possibility of one or another way to socialism depends on the concrete conditions in each country.

In the struggle for better conditions for the working people, for preservation and extension of their democratic rights, winning and maintaining national independence and peace among nations, as well as in the struggle for

winning power and building socialism, the Communist Parties seek co-operation with the Socialist Parties. Although the Right-wing Socialist Party leaders are doing their best to hamper this co-operation, there are increasing opportunities for co-operation between the Communists and Socialists on many issues. The ideological differences between the Communist and the Socialist Parties should not keep them from establishing unity of action on the many pressing issues that confront the working-class movement.

In the socialist countries where the working class is in power the Communist and Workers' Parties which have the opportunity to establish close relations with the broad masses of the people should constantly rely on them and make the building and defence of socialism the cause of millions who fully realise that they are masters of their country. The measures taken in recent years by the socialist countries to expand socialist democracy and encourage criticism and self-criticism are of great importance for enhancing the activity and creative initiative of the broad masses and their solidarity, for consolidating the socialist system and stepping up socialist construction.

To bring about real solidarity of the working class, of all working people and the whole of progressive mankind, of the freedom- and peace-loving forces of the world, it is necessary above all to promote the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, to foster solidarity between the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. This solidarity is the core of still greater solidarity, it is the main guarantee of the victory of the cause of the working class.

The Communist and Workers' Parties have a particularly important responsibility with regard to the destinies of the world socialist system and the international communist movement. The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Meeting declare that they will tirelessly promote their unity and comradely co-operation with a view to further consolidating the commonwealth of socialist states and in the interests of the international working-class movement, of peace and socialism.

The Meeting notes with satisfaction that the international communist movement has grown, withstood numerous

serious trials and won a number of major victories. By their deeds the Communists have demonstrated to the working people on a world scale the vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory and their ability not only to propagate the great ideals of socialism but also to realise them in exceedingly strenuous conditions.

Like any progressive movement in human history, the communist movement is bound to encounter difficulties, and its road will not be a straight one. However, as in the past, no difficulties or obstacles can change now, nor will they be able to change in the future, the objective laws governing historical progress or shake the determination of the working class to transform the old world and create a new one. Ever since they began their struggle the Communists have been baited and persecuted by the reactionary forces; but the communist movement heroically repels all attacks, emerging from the trials stronger and more steeled. The Communists, by further consolidating their unity, counter attempts by the reactionary imperialist forces to halt society's march toward a new era.

Contrary to the absurd assertions of imperialism about a so-called crisis of communism, the communist movement is growing and gathering strength. The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. are of tremendous importance not only to the C.P.S.U. and to the building of communism in the U.S.S.R.; they have opened a new stage in the world communist movement and facilitated its further development along Marxist-Leninist lines. The results of the congresses of the Communist Parties of China, France, Italy and other countries in recent times have clearly demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the party ranks and their loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This Meeting of the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties is further evidence of the international solidarity of the communist movement.

After exchanging views, the participants in the Meeting arrived at the conclusion that in present conditions it is expedient, besides bilateral meetings of leading executives and exchange of information, to hold, as the need arises, more representative conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties to discuss current problems, share experience,

study each other's views and attitudes and concert action in the joint struggle for the common goals—peace, democracy and socialism.

The participants in the Meeting unanimously express their firm confidence that, by closing their ranks and thereby rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties will undoubtedly surmount all obstacles in their onward movement and accelerate further big victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism, on a world scale.

COMMUNIQUÉ
ON THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES
Held in Moscow, November 1957

The delegations of the Communist and Workers' Parties attending the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution decided to take advantage of their stay in Moscow for a friendly meeting and discussion of questions of interest to all the Parties.

The Meeting which was held in Moscow over November 16-19 was attended by representatives of the Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Albanian Party of Labour, Algerian Communist Party, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Brazil, British Communist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Venezuela, Working People's Party of Viet-Nam, Guatemalan Party of Labour, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Denmark, Popular Socialist Party of the Dominican Republic, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, Communist Party of Jordan, Communist Party of Iraq, Communist Party of Spain, Italian Communist Party, Progressive Labour Party of Canada, Communist Party of China, Communist Party of Colombia, Korean Party of Labour, Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Communist Party

of Malaya, Moroccan Communist Party, Communist Party of Mexico, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of the Netherlands, Communist Party of New Zealand, Communist Party of Norway, People's Party of Panama, Communist Party of Paraguay, Communist Party of Peru, Polish United Workers' Party, Communist Party of Portugal, Rumanian Workers' Party, Communist Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Syria and the Lebanon, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Thailand, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Chile, Swiss Party of Labour, Communist Party of Sweden, Communist Party of Ecuador, League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Japan.

The participants in the Meeting exchanged views on current questions of the international situation.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties decided to address the workers and peasants of all countries, men and women throughout the world, all people of good will with a Peace Manifesto the text of which follows.

The Meeting took place in an atmosphere of close co-operation and cordiality typical of the relations between fraternal parties linked by unity of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

PEACE MANIFESTO

Workers and peasants! Men of science and culture! People of good will in all countries!

We, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries gathered in Moscow for the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, address you, appealing both to your reason and to your hearts.

The calamity of the Second World War is still fresh in mind. Its bloody consequences have not yet completely disappeared and already hovering over the homes of peaceful towns and villages is the sinister spectre of another, a hundred times more destructive, war. The threat of another war, darkening the joy of life, hovers over every country. In every home the question is asked:

What will happen tomorrow, a month or a year from now? Will the flames of war again envelop us; will the all-destructive atomic and hydrogen bombs bring sudden death to us and to our children?

The peoples have already had the bitter experience of two world wars. It is always the ordinary people who make the heaviest sacrifices in war. They know that each succeeding war brings with it greater suffering, ruins more countries, kills more people, and leaves a trail of still more dreadful and lasting consequences.

The First World War, caused by the big imperialist powers and unleashed by German militarism, took a toll of ten million lives. Tens of millions were maimed and deprived of health. Entire nations were subjected to hunger and privation.

The Second World War, for which German fascism bears the chief guilt, not only hurled huge armies to destruction. Bombs destroyed open cities, killed hundreds of thousands of civilians, while millions of men, women and children perished behind the barbed wire and in the gas chambers of Hitler's concentration camps. Enormous material riches, with which it would have been possible to build thousands of beautiful towns and feed and clothe entire nations, were used for purposes of death and destruction. Over thirty million human lives, not counting the millions of the wounded and the maimed, were swallowed in the holocaust of the Second World War. And, during its last days, the first two atomic bombs fell on open Japanese cities, making a tangible threat of wholesale human slaughter in the future.

It requires neither the knowledge of the scientist nor the imagination of the poet to say that the next war—should the peoples ever allow it to break out—would surpass in destruction anything that mankind has yet experienced. The peoples of Europe and America, Asia, Africa and Australia know that man has released such tremendous natural forces and possesses such powerful means that their destructive action could be let loose on any part of the globe. In the next war there will be no shelter or safety. The flames of nuclear and rocket war would engulf all the peoples and bring untold sufferings for generations to come.

Ordinary people all over the world, irrespective of nationality and political views, religious belief or colour, want to live in peace, and ordinary people all over the world say: surely man, whose victorious mind is wresting from Nature all her secrets, subordinating her more and more, who, now with the launching of the Soviet artificial earth satellites, may soon reach the stars, surely man can prevent war and self-destruction!

We, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, fully conscious of our responsibility for human destiny, declare:

War is not inevitable. War can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.

We are gathered in the capital of the country which forty years ago opened a new era in human history. In 1917,

for the first time in history, the socialist revolution triumphed on Russian soil. The working people took power into their own hands and set out to destroy all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man. The workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the party of Lenin, inscribed peace on their banners and have always remained faithful to it. In the course of its forty years the Soviet Union has opened the way to peace for all peoples, and has sought—despite all imperialist obstacles—peaceful coexistence with all other countries irrespective of their social system.

The workers of the capitalist countries, upholding their vital interests, took an active part in the struggle for peace. This noble cause was supported by progressive people all over the world. However, the peace forces did not succeed in saving mankind from a new catastrophe, the Second World War. These forces were not sufficiently strong at the time, and the Soviet Union was then the only country steadfastly fighting for peace.

We Communists say that now it is possible to prevent war, possible to safeguard peace. We say this with full confidence because the world situation today is different and the balance of forces has changed.

The Land of Soviets, born of the Great October Revolution, no longer stands alone. Out of the victory over fascism came the vast world of socialism with a population of nearly one thousand million. Marching shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union for peace, international co-operation and peaceful coexistence of the different social systems, is another big socialist power—People's China. Working for the same peaceful aims are the European and Asiatic countries of People's Democracy.

The unprecedented development of industry, science and technology in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries serves peace and acts as a powerful brake on war.

Another new force has made its appearance on the world arena—the colonial peoples awakened by the October Revolution; some of them have already thrown off and others are in the process of throwing off the age-old yoke of dependence; they want to live in peace and will not

allow any imperialist interference in their internal affairs. In order to put an end to their backwardness and poverty they are pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality, the policy of the well-known five principles—mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

It is not only the peoples of the socialist countries, and not only the nations of the East that do not want war. It is hated also by the peoples of the Western capitalist countries, who have twice experienced it.

The peace forces are legion. They can prevent war and safeguard peace. However, we, the Communists, believe that it is our duty to warn all the peoples of the world that the danger of a monstrous and annihilating war has not passed.

Where does the threat to peace and the security of the peoples come from? From the capitalist monopolies who have vested interest in war and amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive. The arms drive, which brings huge profits to the monopolies, weighs more and more heavily on the working people and seriously worsens the economy of the countries. The ruling circles of some capitalist countries, under pressure of the monopolies and especially those of the U.S., have rejected proposals for disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and other measures aimed at preventing a new war. Not a few useful proposals by the peace-loving nations have been submitted to the United Nations, acceptance of which would have strengthened peace and lessened the danger of war. No one can deny that the proposals submitted to the United Nations with a view to ending the arms race, removing the threat of an atomic war, and promoting peaceful coexistence of states and economic co-operation between them, which is a decisive factor in creating proper confidence in international relations, are in keeping with the vital interests of all nations. The destiny of the world and the destinies of the future generations hinge on the solution of these problems. These proposals are actively resisted only by those interested in maintaining international tension.

Thousands of newspapers and radio stations daily instil into the minds of the peoples of the United States, Britain, France, Italy and other capitalist countries the claim that "world communism" is endangering their freedom, their way of life, and their peaceful existence.

However, neither the Communist Parties nor any of the socialist countries have any motive or reason for launching wars or military attacks on other countries, for seizing alien soil. The Soviet Union and People's China both have vast expanses of land and untold natural riches. In all the socialist countries there are no classes or social groups interested in war. Power is in the hands of the workers and peasants who in all wars have been the greatest sufferers. Is it possible that they could desire another war? The aim of the Communists is to build a society that will ensure universal well-being, the blossoming of all nations and eternal peace among them. In order to build this society the socialist countries need a durable peace. There are, therefore, no more consistent enemies of war, no stauncher champions of peace than the Communists!

The socialist countries do not intend to enforce their social or political system on any other nation. They are firmly convinced that socialism is bound to win, but they know that socialism cannot be implanted from without, that it will come above all as a result of struggle by the working class and all other progressive forces within each country. That is why the socialist states have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, just as they will not allow others to interfere in their own internal affairs. Hence the contention that the socialist countries constitute a threat to peace because they allegedly want to impose their system upon others is merely an attempt to mislead those desiring peace.

Peace can be preserved if only all to whom it is dear combine their forces, sharpen their vigilance in relation to the machinations of the war-instigators and become fully conscious that their sacred duty is to intensify the struggle for peace, which is threatened.

Having in mind the well-being of the people throughout the world and desirous of progress and a bright future for all nations, we call upon:

men and women,
workers and peasants,
men of science and art,
teachers and office workers,
the youth,
handicraftsmen, traders and industrialists,
socialists, democrats and liberals,
all, irrespective of political and religious convictions,
all who love their country,
all who do not want war,
all people of good will

to demand an end to the arms drive which daily intensifies the danger of war and of which you, the common people, bear the burden;

to demand prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and, as a first step, an immediate end to the testing of these weapons;

to demand that an end be put to the policy of military blocs and the creation of military bases in other countries;

to demand that the German militarists, chiefly responsible for the last war, are not allowed to rearm in the very heart of Europe;

to demand an end to the plots and military provocations of the imperialists in the Middle East;

to support the policy of collective security, of peaceful coexistence of different social systems, and the widest economic and cultural co-operation of all peoples.

We call upon all of you

to demand from your governments that in the United Nations they pursue a policy of peace and oppose the cold war.

We call upon all people of good will throughout the world:
ORGANISE AND WORK FOR:

(1) IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN WEAPON TESTS,

(2) UNCONDITIONAL AND SPEEDY PROHIBITION OF THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF THESE WEAPONS.

We, the Communists, have devoted our lives to the cause of socialism. We, the Communists, are firmly convinced that this noble cause will triumph. And it is because we

believe in the triumph of our ideas—the ideas of Marx and Lenin, the ideas of proletarian internationalism—that we want peace and are working for peace. War is our enemy.

From now on, let the countries with different social systems compete with one another in developing science and technology for peace. Let them demonstrate their superiority not on the field of battle but in competition for progress and for raising living standards.

We extend a hand to all people of good will. By a common effort let us get rid of the burden of armaments which oppresses the peoples. Let us rid the world of the danger of war, death and annihilation. Before us is a bright and happy future of mankind marching forward to progress.

Peace to the world!

Adopted by the delegations of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Luxemburg, Malaya, Mexico, Mongolian People's Republic, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, San Marino, Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria and the Lebanon, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam and Yugoslavia.

COMMUNIQUÉ
ON THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES
OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Held in Bucharest, June 1960

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries attending the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party—the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Working People's Party of Viet-Nam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labour, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—decided to make use of their stay in Bucharest for an exchange of views on urgent problems of the international situation and the conclusions to be drawn from them by the fraternal parties.

The participants in the Meeting are agreed that the whole course of world events and the development of the countries of the world socialist system has completely confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist principles of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted by the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957.

The participants in the Meeting reiterate their support of the principles of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, which constitute the charter of the contemporary Communist

and workers' movement, its programme in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries consider that all the conclusions of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto—on the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars in the present era, on the need for preserving the vigilance of the peoples in regard to the war threat, since as long as imperialism exists there remain the grounds for aggressive wars—are fully applicable to the present situation.

"The Communist Parties," the Declaration stressed, "regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. Together with all the peace-loving forces, they will do their best to prevent war."

The Declaration also draws the important conclusion concerning the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism in different countries. "Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class headed by its vanguard has the opportunity... to smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution." At the same time the eventuality of the working class attaining the goals of socialist revolution by non-peaceful means should be borne in mind.

The participants in the present Meeting note with profound satisfaction the tremendous successes of all the countries of the socialist system in advancing their economies and cultures, in consolidating their social and state systems, in further promoting socialist democracy. The great community of the countries of socialism is developing and strengthening with each passing day. The camp of socialism is in the prime of its strength. It is exerting a tremendous and ever increasing influence on the whole course of human development. The achievements of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies inspire the working class and all working people in capitalist countries to the struggle against the attacks of the exploiters on their vital interests, to the struggle for peace and socialism.

The participants in the Meeting declare that the Communist and Workers' Parties will continue to strengthen

the solidarity of the countries of the world socialist system and to cherish as the apple of the eye their unity in the struggle for the peace and security of all peoples, for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Central Committee,
Albanian Party of Labour
Central Committee,
Bulgarian Communist Party
Central Committee,
Communist Party of China
Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
Central Committee,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany
Central Committee,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
Central Committee,
Korean Party of Labour
Central Committee,
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party
Central Committee,
Rumanian Workers' Party
Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Central Committee,
Working People's Party of Viet-Nam

Bucharest, June 24, 1960

COMMUNIQUÉ
ON THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES
Held in Moscow, November 1960

A meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties who attended the celebration of the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held in Moscow in November 1960.

Delegations from the following 81 parties took part in the Meeting: Albanian Party of Labour, Algerian Communist Party, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Communist Party of Brazil, British Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Burma, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of China, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Popular Socialist Party of the Dominican Republic, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Germany, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Guatemalan Party of Labour, Party of People's Unity of Haiti, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, People's Party of Iran, Communist

Party of Iraq, Irish Workers' League, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan, Communist Party of Jordan, Korean Party of Labour, Communist Party of the Lebanon, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Communist Party of Malaya, Communist Party of Martinique, Communist Party of Mexico, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Moroccan Communist Party, Communist Party of Nepal, Communist Party of the Netherlands, Communist Party of New Zealand, Socialist Party of Nicaragua, Communist Party of Norway, People's Party of Panama, Communist Party of Paraguay, Communist Party of Peru, Polish United Workers' Party, Communist Party of Portugal, Communist Party of Reunion, Rumanian Workers' Party, Communist Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Salvador, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of the Sudan, Communist Party of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labour, Communist Party of Syria, Communist Party of Thailand, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, Working People's Party of Viet-Nam and other Parties.

The participants in the Meeting shared experience and familiarised themselves with each other's views and positions, discussed urgent problems of international development and the Communist movement today to promote their joint struggle for common goals—peace, democracy, national independence and socialism—and unanimously adopted a Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Meeting also adopted an Appeal to the Peoples of All the World.

All questions were discussed in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, on the basis of the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

**STATEMENT
OF THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

Held in Moscow, November 1960

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties have discussed at this Meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The Communist and Workers' Parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These programme documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international Communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure toward uniting the efforts of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the fighting banner and guide to action for the whole of the international Communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial

system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. This situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

I

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force—fascism—to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of the socialist countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists

did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart. As the world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favour of the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavour, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionising the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the

state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot rescue capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop the decayed pillars of capitalism by militarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing to some degree or other, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more acute on a national as well as international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis. The anarchical nature of capitalist production is becoming more marked. Capitalist concentration is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all through intensification of labour. Automation and "rationalisation" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its pressing demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below the pre-war. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad peasant masses and large sec-

tions of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and which, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism", that it has established a so-called "welfare state" capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crises and assuring well-being for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new inter-state organisations which are established under the slogan of "integration" actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines, of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U.S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world—the United States of America—has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing undercapacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the post-war years and has been barely above the growth of population. Over-production crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarised economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into

Africa is increasing. U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.

The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic "aid". They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which has allied itself with U.S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the U.S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on its own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation, working-class and socialist movements. International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on between their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The U.S. imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs, which causes increased resistance on the part of the people. The United States remains the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the U.S. monopolies, are stepping up expansion. The

West German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting under way between the forces of labour and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America. An anti-colonial movement for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national uprising in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, for peace, democracy and national independence, is under way in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defence of democracy show the militant resolve of the working people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working-class strikes in the U.S.A., Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium and other capitalist countries. The actions of the Negro people in the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character. There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, is developing in South Viet-Nam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defence of peace is gaining ground in all continents. All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist, national-liberation, anti-war and class struggles is rising ever higher.

A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism. This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries

embracing one-third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism; the tremendous new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism; the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism; the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole; the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology. This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress.

II

A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this doctrine opens up immense opportunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilisation; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favour of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people's democratic republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the

great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy; the exploitation of man by man has been abolished for ever. The success of the policy of socialist industrialisation has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry; agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

In recent years all the People's Democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale co-operative farming on socialist lines. Lenin's co-operative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private land ownership was a long-standing tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations. The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger. In the course of socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the socialist reorganisation of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary co-operation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the People's Democracies. The working class has become the main force of society; its ranks are growing; its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from age-long poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the flesh of the working

people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of society, for the all-round and complete development of the gifts and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily thanks to economic progress.

An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multi-national socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities, and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the People's Democracies, socialist ideology has achieved notable successes in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature; day after day it gives rise to a Communist attitude to labour and other elements of the future Communist society. The methods of socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic and cultural development; certain functions of the state are being gradually transferred to public organisations.

Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp

ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system.

Thanks to the heroic effort of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the Communist and Workers' Parties, most favourable objective opportunities have been provided in the past years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist parties heading the socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and withstood serious tests, the Communist Parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing socialist construction. The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist system; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal co-operation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilisation of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the socialist countries cherish the unity of the socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system of international division of labour through the co-ordination of nation-

al economic plans, specialisation and co-operation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standard. It requires study of collective experience; extended co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance; gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilisation and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every socialist country.

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living. To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labour to be achieved through continuous technical progress, for economic planning, strict observance of the Leninist principles of providing material incentives and of encouraging moral stimuli to work for the good of society by heightening the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labour and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national economy,

and mechanisation and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a communist society. On this basis, it is necessary to develop communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new, communist society.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural co-operation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms. In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterised by antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and to the consolidation of all the forms of co-operation between them. Under socialism, the development of national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmoniously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples,

born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party which has become the ruling party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The Declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism. The Declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copying of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead to the party of the proletariat being isolated from reality, from the masses, and may injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the Communist and Workers' Parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In blazing a trail to communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role and influence on the course of world events are growing from year to year.

The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

III

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centres of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, including those in the non-combatant countries. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be grounds for wars of aggression.

The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new

world war still persists. U. S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction. The U.S. imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO and other military blocs under the guise of combating the "communist menace"; it has enmeshed the so-called "free world", that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries. The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the U. S. militarists.

The imperialist forces of the U.S.A., Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West German imperialism. In West Germany militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals, which the U.S. imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West-European countries. The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West German imperialism, is increasing. The West German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise the borders established after the Second World War. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe. An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The Meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries

of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The U. S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving countries. The U. S. invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Viet-Nam; they have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles. Threatening Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the U. S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organisation of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America in the realisation of their aggressive schemes.

The U. S. imperialists have set up a huge war machinery and refuse to allow its reduction. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race is going on. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly in the African continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The U. S. militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests; military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.

The U. S. ruling circles have wrecked the Paris meeting of the Heads of Government of the four Great Powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown. The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. U. S. imperialism has exposed itself still

more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt, and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq and some other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom. The peoples of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organised forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organisations, above all the Communist Parties; the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war and advocate peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favoured by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and manoeuvres of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organise the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote co-operation with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarisation of their countries should be com-

bined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories and offices. The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarised free city, thwart the aggressive designs of the West German revanchists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermonuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war. No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organisations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.

The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives, women's and youth leagues and organisations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The U.S.S.R. will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will score new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. **In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.** The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.

The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. The Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war.

In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Five Principles jointly advanced by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung Conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the U.S. doctrine of "cold war" and "brinkmanship", for it is a policy leading to thermonuclear catastrophe. By upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations.

The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilising the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace.

Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favourable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

The Meeting considers that the implementation of the programme for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind. To realise this programme means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realise owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this programme into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

The arms race is not a war deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war. Only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries, the people constantly demand that military expenditures be reduced and the funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses. In each country, it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement, for the use of the funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and res-

olute struggle the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance towards imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission.

IV

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen post-war years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin American peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-wide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of

the world socialist system. The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national-liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working-class movement.

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism. Communists have always recognised the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid", drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there. The imperialists endeavour to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations,

to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "inter-dependence", to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral aggressive military alliances to achieve these ends. The imperialists' accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nation united in a single national-democratic front. The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom, are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratisation of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural co-operation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempts to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and extension on a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry, a sector independent from foreign monopolies and

gradually becoming a determining factor in the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability. A big role can be played by the national-patriotic forces, by all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence, against imperialism.

In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, and therefore retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie.

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions grow the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

In the present historical situation, favourable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organisations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of colonial yoke.

The Communist Parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose; they work for a genuine democratisation of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anti-communism" and isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the libera-

tion movement, weakens the national movement; it is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel, and co-operate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression.

The class-conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realised that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations", fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists. Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural rebirth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the popular masses in their own countries.

The entire course of the world history of recent decades prompts the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance to easing international tension and consolidating universal peace. This Meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The Meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence—an important step towards complete emancipation. The Meeting extends heart-felt regards and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national

independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It wrathfully condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The Meeting demands non-interference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.

V

The new balance of world forces offers the Communist and Workers' Parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution on the basis of the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything to defend now, without waiting until socialism triumphs, the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle, the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the

bulwark of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state-monopoly capitalism, which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. The exploitation of working people is gaining in intensity; so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute. The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming more difficult to bear by all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society—that between labour and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish, or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries, fascism is expanding in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been deprived of democratic content and reduced to pure form. Many democratic organisations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground, thousands of fighters for the working-class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the Communists of the world, this Meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in the U.S.A., Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Para-

guay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The Meeting urges launching a powerful world-wide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favourable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalisation of the key branches of economy and democratisation of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realised, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for democratic reforms, large sections of the population come to realise the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its Communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success.

Communists advocate general democratisation of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organisations and institutions.

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen the bonds with the masses, in-

crease their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realise the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution. Marxists-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that socialism alone is a real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and co-operatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organisations, and the unorganised sections of the population. There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism. Lenin's great behest—to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist Party.

The restoration of unity in the trade union movement in countries where it is split, as well as on the international scale is essential for heightening the role of the working class in political life and for the successful defence of its interests. The working people may belong to different trade unions, but they have common interests. Whenever different trade union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent years, they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in having the demands of the working people met. The Communist Parties believe that there are real prerequisites for re-establishing trade union unity, and will work perseveringly to bring it about. In those countries where no trade union democracy exists in practice, the struggle for trade union unity calls for continuous efforts aimed at achieving trade union independence and recognition and observance of the trade union rights of all working people without political and any other discrimination.

It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass demo-

cratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organisations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights.

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which represents the main motive force of social revolution.

The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership and reactionary trade union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this split.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and split the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs, they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the Right-wing leadership has succeeded in making the Social-Democratic parties adopt programmes in which it openly disowned Marxism, the class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans. Thereby they have again done a service to the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the Right-wing leaders is mounting in the Social-Democratic parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the Social-Democratic party functionaries. The forces favouring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelm-

ing majority in the Social-Democratic parties, particularly the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

Communists will continue to criticise the ideological positions and Right-wing opportunist practices of the Social-Democrats; they will continue activities aimed at inducing the Social-Democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtaining between themselves and the Social-Democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

Communists regard Social-Democrats among the working people as their class brothers. They often work together in trade unions and other organisations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of Social-Democrats and some Social-Democratic parties have already in some form or another come out in favour of solving these problems. It is safe to say that **on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.**

Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of

national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist Parties advocate co-operation with the Socialist Parties. The Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically substantiated and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with Social-Democrats, for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing co-operation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it. The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accom-

plishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organisation and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes. Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for working people.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organisations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary

spirit, to develop their revolutionary class-consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war; lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty; general well-being and a high standard of living; freedom from fear of economic crises; a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole; freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual; all-round spiritual development of man; the fullest development of talent; unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

VI

The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. As it fights bitterly against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the Communist movement is making steady headway, is becoming consolidated and steeled.

There are now Communist Parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36,000,000. This is a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class. Like-minded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist Parties consider it their internationalist duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working-class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the Communist Parties and their organisational consolidation, the victories of the Communist Parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the greater influence of the world communist movement open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Communist Parties.

Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism; they consider that they must cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organisational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the Party, work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the Party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, must not allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists, must vigorously promote the activity of Communists, and encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The Communist Parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each Communist Party and the international Communist movement as a whole have become still stronger, ideologically and organisationally, in the struggle against revisionism, Right-wing opportunism.

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against

the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remain an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist "theories".

The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilises the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions; they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realisation. The interests of the Communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal parties at their meetings.

The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

A resolute defence of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole.

The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings—that of November 1957 and this Meeting—show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience which the C.P.S.U. has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement. The example of the C.P.S.U. and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist Parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. are not only of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and communist construction in the U.S.S.R., but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communist and Workers' Parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties embody the revolutionary

principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a socialist system. This demands extensive work by the Party on the Communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of Party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international Communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers' Parties can be effectively accomplished.

The Meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working-class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

We, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the five continents, gathered in Moscow for the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, imbued with a sense of responsibility for the future of mankind, call on you to wage

a world-wide struggle in defence of peace, against the threat of a new world war.

Three years ago the Communist and Workers' Parties issued a Peace Manifesto to the peoples of all the world.

Since then, the peace forces have won notable victories in the struggle against the war-mongers.

With still greater confidence in the victory of the cause of peace, we are today able to oppose the war danger that menaces millions of men, women and children. Never before in the history of mankind have there been such real opportunities to realise the age-old aspirations of the peoples—to live in peace and freedom.

In face of the threat of a military catastrophe which would cause vast sacrifice, the loss of hundreds of millions of lives, and would lay in ruins the key centres of world civilisation, the question of preserving peace agitates all mankind more deeply than ever before.

We Communists are fighting for peace, for universal security, for conditions in which all men and all peoples will enjoy peace and freedom.

The goal of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole is to assure lasting peace for all peoples.

Socialism does not need war. The historic debate between the old and the new system, between socialism and capitalism, should be settled not by a world war, but in peaceful competition, in a competition as to which social system achieves the higher level of economy, technology and culture, and provides the people with the best living conditions.

We Communists consider it our sacred duty to do everything in our power to deliver mankind from the horrors of a modern war.

Acting upon the teachings of the great Lenin, all the socialist countries have made the principle of the **peaceful co-existence** of countries with different social systems the corner-stone of their foreign policy.

In our epoch the peoples and states have but one choice: peaceful coexistence and competition of socialism and capitalism, or nuclear war of extermination. There is no other way.

Where does the threat to world peace come from?

All governments speak of peace. Yet it is not words that count, but deeds.

Today as in the past, it is the reactionary, monopoly and military groups in the imperialist countries that organise and instigate aggressive wars. Peace is menaced by the policy of the governments of the imperialist powers, which, contrary to the will of their own peoples, impose upon nations a disastrous arms race, fan the cold war against the socialist and other peace-loving countries, and suppress the peoples' aspiration for freedom.

LET THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES!

The peoples welcomed the proposals for universal, complete and controlled disarmament made by the Soviet Union and enthusiastically supported by all the socialist countries. Who opposes the implementation of these proposals? It is the governments of the imperialist countries headed by the United States of America, which, instead of controlled disarmament, propose control over armaments, and try to turn disarmament negotiations into empty talk.

The peoples rejoice that for two years now three Great Powers have made no tests of nuclear weapons. Who obstructs a new step forward and a decision to ban the deadly tests for all time? It is the governments of the imperialist powers,

which constantly declare that they intend to resume atomic weapons tests, and continuously threaten to wreck the test-ban negotiations they were compelled to enter into under the pressure of the peoples.

The peoples do not want foreign military bases to remain in their sovereign territories. They oppose aggressive military pacts, which curtail the independence of their countries and endanger them.

Who wants the policy of aggressive pacts and bases?

It is the governments of the Atlantic bloc countries, which furnish war bases on foreign soil to the West German militarists and revenge-seekers, put weapons of mass annihilation in their hands and speed up the atomic arming of NATO troops.

It is the ruling circles of the United States of America which have imposed aggressive military pacts upon Japan, Pakistan and other countries in the Middle and Far East, which incite them against the peace-loving countries, which have occupied South Korea and made it their bridgehead and which are reviving Japanese militarism. It is they who are interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and South Vietnam, backing the Dutch imperialists in West Irian, the Belgian imperialists in the Congo, the Portuguese in Goa and other colonialists, preparing an armed intervention against the Cuban revolution, and involving Latin American countries in military pacts.

It is the United States that has occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan, that keeps on sending military aircraft into the air space of the People's Republic of China, and rejects the latter's legitimate right to have its representatives in the United Nations.

Combat-ready rocket installations, depots stocked with nuclear weapons, airborne H-bomb patrols, combat-ready warships and submarines cruising the seas and oceans, and a web of military bases on foreign soil—such are the present-day practices of imperialism. In such a situation, any country on earth, big or small, may suddenly be enveloped by the flames of a nuclear war.

Imperialism is pushing the world to the brink of war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of big monopolies and colonialists.

The enemies of peace spread falsehoods about an alleged threat of "Communist aggression". They need these falsehoods to camouflage their true goals, to paralyse the will of the peoples and justify the arms race.

WORKERS, PEASANTS, INTELLECTUALS!

PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL ALL OVER THE WORLD!

There is no task more pressing for mankind today than the struggle against the menace of a nuclear-missile war, for general and complete disarmament, for the maintenance of peace. There is no duty more lofty today than participation in that struggle.

Is lasting world peace possible?

We Communists reply:

War is not inevitable, war can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.

This conviction of ours is prompted not only by our will for peace and hatred of the war-mongers. The possibility of averting war follows from the actual facts of the new world situation.

The world socialist system is becoming an increasingly decisive factor of our time. Embracing more than one-third of mankind, the socialist system with the Soviet Union as its main force uses its steadily growing economic, scientific and technical might to curb the actions of imperialism and handcuff the advocates of military gambles.

The international working-class movement, which holds high the banner of struggle for peace, heightens the vigilance of the peoples and inspires them actively to combat the aggressive policies of the imperialists.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, many millions strong, who have won their freedom and political independence, and peoples fighting for national emancipation, are becoming increasingly active champions of peace and natural allies of the peace policy of the socialist countries.

The neutral countries, which disagree with the aggressive policy of the imperialists, work for peace and peaceful co-existence.

The World Peace Movement now numbers many millions of people. In every country, the members of that movement strive to safeguard their homeland from a new military conflagration.

By rallying to a resolute struggle, all these forces of peace can foil the criminal plans of war, safeguard peace and reinforce international friendship.

Peace does not come of itself. It can be defended and consolidated only through joint struggle of all the forces of peace.

We Communists appeal to all working people, to the peoples of all continents:

Fight for an easing of international tension and for peaceful coexistence, against cold war, against the arms race! If used for peaceful purposes, the vast resources squandered on armaments would make it possible to improve the condition of the people, to reduce unemployment, to raise wages and living standards, to expand housing construction and to enhance social insurance.

Prevent the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the arming of the German and Japanese militarists with weapons of mass annihilation!

Demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarised free city!

Combat attempts by the governments of the imperialist powers to involve new countries in the cold war, to draw them into the orbit of war preparations!

Demand the abolition of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries, and prohibition of the establishment of new bases. Fight for the liberation of your countries from the aggressive military pacts imposed upon them! Work for agreements on nuclear-free zones!

Do not let the U.S. monopolies rob the heroic Cuban people of their freedom by economic blockade or armed intervention!

We Communists, who are fighting for the cause of the working class and the peoples, hold out our hand to the Social-Democrats and members of other parties and organisations fighting for peace, to all members of trade unions, to all patriots: Work in concert with us in defence of peace, for disarmament. Let us achieve concerted action!

Let us build up a joint front to combat imperialist preparations for a new war!

Let us jointly defend democratic rights and freedoms and fight against the sinister forces of reaction and fascism, against racism and chauvinism, against monopoly domination, against the militarisation of economy and political life.

The struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence weakens the forces striving for war and multiplies the forces of peace.

Africa, whose peoples have suffered most from the scourge of colonial slavery and brutal exploitation, is awakening to a new life. As they establish their independent states, the peoples of Africa emerge in the arena of history as a young, increasingly independent and peace-loving force.

But colonialism, doomed as it is by history, has not yet been completely destroyed.

Brute force and terrorism bar the road to freedom for the peoples of East Africa in the British and Portuguese colonies. A cruel racist regime reigns in the Union of South Africa. For more than six years the gallant people of Algeria have been fighting for the right to national independence, shedding their blood in war forced upon them by the French colonialists, who are supported by their Atlantic accomplices. In the Congo, the imperialists use all kinds of underhand methods and bribery in an effort to overthrow the lawful government and transfer power to their obedient puppets.

The peoples who have won the right to independent statehood continue to wage a strenuous struggle against colonialism in its new forms, against the U.S. and West German colonialists, and against their old British, French and other oppressors, who seek at all costs to retain control of the natural resources, mines and plantations of the newly-free countries, to prevent their industrial development and to saddle them with corrupt and reactionary governments.

Brothers in countries which have freed themselves from colonialism and in countries which are fighting for their liberation!

THE FINAL HOUR OF COLONIALISM IS STRIKING!

We Communists are with you! The mighty camp of socialist countries is with you!

Together with you, we insist on the immediate and unqualified recognition of the right of all peoples to an independent existence.

May the riches of your countries and the efforts of the working people only serve the good of your peoples!

Your struggle for full sovereignty and economic independence, for your freedom, serves the sacred cause of peace!

WE, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, CALL

on all men, women and young people;

on people of all trades and all walks of life;

on all people, irrespective of political or religious creed, of nationality or race;

on all who love their country and hate war.

Demand the immediate prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass annihilation.

Insist on the immediate conclusion of a treaty on general, complete and controlled disarmament.

May modern science and technology no longer serve the manufacture of weapons of death and destruction! May they serve the good of people and the progress of mankind!

May friendly co-operation and extensive commercial and cultural exchanges between all countries triumph over war alignments!

In our epoch

THE PEACE FORCES ARE SUPERIOR TO THE FORCES OF WAR!

The peoples will achieve the lofty and cherished goal of safeguarding peace if they pool their efforts and fight resolutely and actively for peace and friendship among nations.

Communists will devote all their energies to this cause.
PEACE WILL TRIUMPH OVER WAR!